
An Old Babylonian Itinerary

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Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 1953, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1953), pp. 51-72

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1359490>

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AN OLD BABYLONIAN ITINERARY

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The two tablets preserved in the Oriental Museum of the University of Illinois in Urbana, Ill., which are here published with the kind permission of the authorities, were copied by me in 1946 at a time when few Mari tablets had been made known as yet. They attracted my attention because I recognized their nature as itineraries. Their importance has been greatly enhanced since; even a superficial glance suffices today to show that many of the towns they mention recur in the Mari texts. Indeed, the two Illinois tablets will place the historical geography of the Mari age on a new and secure basis.

I

The text

The external characteristics of the two tablets are as follows:

UIOM 2134: a four-column tablet 67 x 122 mm.

UIOM 2370: a small one-column tablet 39 x 32 mm.

The small tablet proves to be a duplicate of lines III 23–32 of the larger text. The idea may be entertained that the large tablet was compiled from a number of smaller tablets like UIOM 2370 of which only this one has been recovered.

I give first a transliteration of the larger tablet, noting the variants of the smaller one.

UIOM 2134

obv. I [.]x-bi-ba-ni^a
 [.]^bx-ma
 [*varah* . . . *ūmam*]x^c-kam?
 [*mu.ús-sa*^d *Ia-di-ḥ*]a-bu-um^e
 5 [ù *Mu-ti-ḥu-ur-ša-n*]a^f
 [.]^{ki}

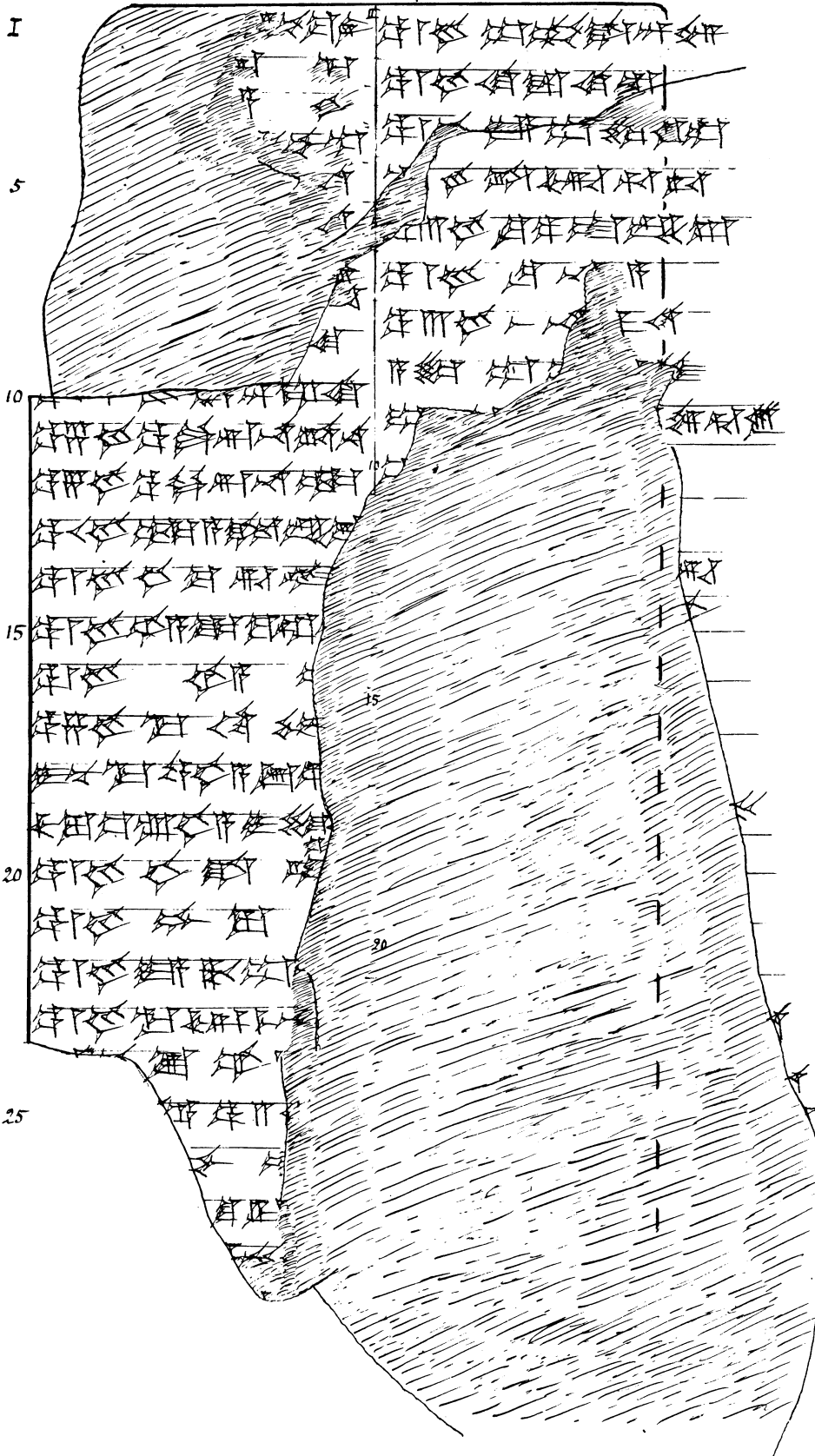
^a Possibly [¹*Ha-am-mu-r*]a-pi-ba-ni.
^b More likely *nun* than *ri*.
^c At least 4, possibly more, plus [10] or [20].
^d This seems required by considerations of space.
^e This is the only restoration that I could think of.
^f Uncertain; the last sign may be *ki*.

[.]ni?
 [.]ta/ša
 [.]^{ki}
 10 *ud.14-kam Bābīlum*^{ki}
 ud.5-kam Sippar.edin^g-na
 ud.5-kam Sippar.bād
 ud.10-kam Dūr-A-pīl^d-*Sin*
 ud.1-kam Ḥi-ba-ri-tum
 15 *ud.1-kam Kar-Ka-ku-la-t[im]*
 ud.1-kam Kar-x[. . .]
 ud.4-kam Ma-ki-sū[m]
 i-nu-ma šābum^h *ip-pa[-aḥ-ru]*
 *ù eleppētum*ⁱ *i-li[-ka-nim]*
 20 *ud.1-kam Ḥi-ša-at*
 ud.1-kam Bu-lu-[x]
 ud.1-kam Ia-ḥa-ab/p-i[la]
 ud.1-kam Ma-ar-me-nu[-um?
 [*ud.*]1-kam *Su-ta?*[-x]
 25 [.]x-e *ud.2-kam*
 [*ud.x-kam x-*]bu-um
 [*ud.x-kam Aš-*]šū-ur^{k?}
 [.]x-mu-x[. . .]
 [.]x[. . . .]

(about 4 lines lost)

obv. II *ud.1-kam Ap-gum* ša ^aIM
 ud.1-kam Ki-iš-ki-iš
 ud.1-kam Ia-ab/p-tu-ru-um
 ud.1-kam Ta-ar-ḥu-uš
 5 *ud.3-kam Šu-pa-at*^a-*En-líl*
 ud.1-kam Šu-na-a
 ud.3-kam Aš-na-ak-ki
 a-šar um-m[a-na]-tum
 ša^a[. . .]x[.]*im-ḥu-ru*
 10 *ud[.]*
 (rest of column almost completely lost^k)
 rev. III [*ud.x-kam x-l*]a-at-tu-u[m]
 [*ud.x-kam g*]úⁱ? ^{id}KIB.*nun-na*
 [*ud.x-kam*]x^l-ba-at-tum

^g Most likely thus.
^h *erin.ḥá*.
ⁱ *giš.má.ḥá*.
^k See below p. 59
^l Probably *e* or *ia*.



IV

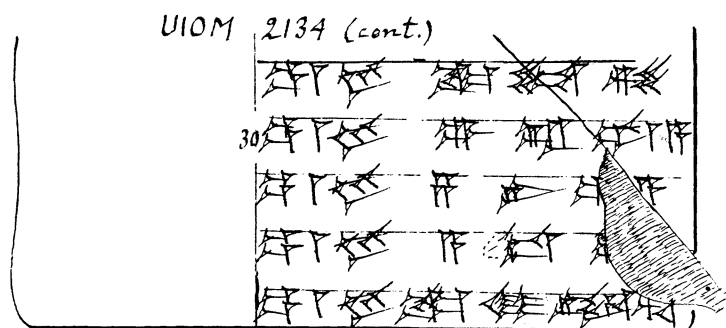
III

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines across the page. The text is partially obscured by the hand-drawn landscape sketch. The script consists of small, angular characters typical of ancient Mesopotamian languages. Some lines are marked with small numbers on the left margin, such as '5' and '10'. The text appears to be a transcription of an archaeological find, with some lines showing signs of being crossed out or heavily scribbled over.

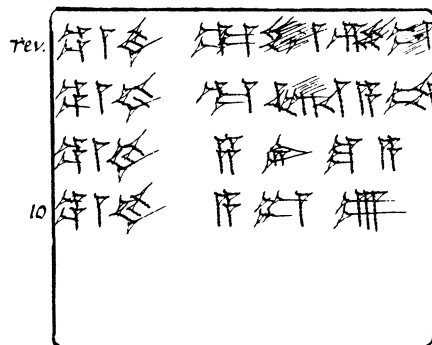
5

10

cont. on next page.



UIOM 2370



- [ud.x-kam T]u-ul-tu-ul
- 5 [ud.x-kam A]-hu-na-a
- [.....] ud.1-kam Za-al-pa-a[h³]
- [ud.x-kam A]p-qum ša ^dBaliha
- [ud.x-k]am Harrānum^m
- [u]d.1-kam Sa-hul-da
- 10 ud.2-kam Ha-zi-ri
- ud.1-kam Ad/t-mi
- ud.1-kam Hu-bu-ur-me-eš
- ud.1-kam PA.MIR.UŠ
- ud.1-kam Tu-un-da
- 15 ud.1-kam Ku-ub-šum
- ud.1-kam Pa-ak-ta-nu
- ud.1-kam Kul-za-la-nu
- ud.1-kam Bu-z/ša-nu-um
- ud.1-kam Ma-as-me-nu-um
- 20 ud.1-kam A-la-an
- ud.10-kam Aš-na-ak-kum
- ud.1-kam Ur-ge-eš
- ud.26-kam Šu-na-a
- [ud.]1-kam Ha-ar-siⁿ

- 25 ud.8-kam Šu-pa-at-^dEn-lil^o
- ud.1-kam Ta-ar-hu-uš
- ud.1-kam Ba²-bi-gi-ir-rum^p
- ud.1-kam La-a-da-a
- ud.1-kam Ka-li-zi^q
- 30 ud.1-kam Mar-ra-ta-a^r
- ud.1-kam Za-ni-pa-a^s
- ud.1-kam A-du-ú
- ud.1-kam Ka-mi-il-hu

rev. IV (gap of 7 lines)

- ud.1-kam [.....]
- ud.1-kam x^t[.....]
- ud.1-kam Dūr-[x-]x
- ud.1-kam Ma-ga-la-a
- 5' ud.1-kam Al-KA.MI.NI-a
- ud.2-kam Sippar^{ki}

^m KASKAL.
ⁿ Var. Ha-ar-ru-si.

^o Var. Šu-ba-at-^dEn-lil
^p Var. Ba-bi-KIB-na.
^q Var. Ka-li-zi-it
^r Var. Ma-ar-a-ta.
^s Var. Za-ni-ba-a.
^t Possibly Z[u-.....].

ud.13-kam Bābilum^{ki}
ud.1-kam Ḫa-ap-ḫa-ap-pi
ud.1-kam Ip-la-aḫ
 10' *ud.1-kam Ša-na-sa-pi*
ud.1-kam Ra-za-ma
ud.1-kam Larsam^{ki}

[naḫar]um warḫū 6 ūmū 14-kam
[ú-]ši a-na ta-ri-
 [!] *ia*

The comparatively well preserved colophon reads “[a tota] of 6 months (and) 14 days [elaps]ed till my return.” This not only characterizes the whole as a memorandum, but also enables us to calculate the number of days lost in the gaps.

Col. III is fortunately preserved in its full length and justifies the statement that each column should contain about 33 lines. Out of the 194 days of the summation no less than 162 — namely 50 + 12 + 75 + 25 — are wholly or in part accounted for in the preserved parts of the tablet; hence only 32 are entirely missing. At the bottom of col. I, ca. 6 lines are lost and at the beginning of col. IV, ca. 7 lines; assuming that every line meant 1 day, these two gaps account for 13 days. The large gap in col. II, then, amounts to 19 days. For these, 23 lines are available. We must therefore reckon with a number of descriptive lines like I 18f. and II 8f. They may well be expected there since the gap covered the turning point of the expedition where some information concerning its aim and purpose would be particularly appropriate. Very likely it was of a military nature; the previously mentioned insertions speak of an army (I 18) and of troops (II 8).

At the beginning of the text one would also expect the date of the departure and perhaps the name of the “traveler.” On the date a word will be said at the end of this paper, the name of the “traveler” must remain conjectural (see note to line I 1 of the text).

The distance covered becomes immediately evident by a few fixed points that present themselves in every one of the four columns. Col. I must begin with Larsam because the writer speaks in the colophon of his return to that place. The first preserved lines mention Babylon and Sippar; at l. 17 we are at Ma(n)kisum on the Tigris and the journey obviously proceeds up that river.

Col. II begins with Apqum (ša 4IM) which must be the town west of Mosul from which come

the gold and silver tablets published by Bottéro¹ and now in the Yale Babylonian Collection.² The following stations include Šubat-Enlil, well known from the Mari texts.

In Col. III we are on our way back. For line 8 mentions Ḫarrān and in l. 25 we are again in Šubat-Enlil. From l. 27 on, towns are passed which were not mentioned on the outward-bound journey. In col. IV it soon ends up again in Sippar and Babylon and finally in Larsam.

The itinerary will be dealt with here in four sections:

- (a) From Larsam to Aššur(?);
- (b) From Apqum to Šubat-Enlil and Ašnak-kum;
- (c) From the Euphrates via Ḫarrān to Šubat-Enlil;
- (d) From Šubat-Enlil to Sippar and Larsam.

II

The Itinerary

- (a) From Larsam to Aššur(?)

I 6–9 must have contained the stretch from Larsam (l. 6³) to Babylon, mentioning three intervening stations. Though little is left, it is clear that the route is different from that followed on the return journey.

I 10 Babylon.

I 11 *Sippar.edin-na*: It has been known for a long time through a small tablet formerly in the possession of W. H. Ward (*Hebraica* 2, 1884, 85; C. F. Lehmann, *Šamašsumukin* II 38) that there are various parts of Sippar. This is confirmed by Sum. *Lexical Texts* 212 V 16ff. (with the duplicates 211, 216, 235, 250³) and OE IV 161 I 12f.

I 12 *Sippar.bād* “Sippar fortress”: Besides the just-quoted lists see *bād.u₄.ul.dù.sa₄-a bād.UD. KIB.nun^{ki} = bād.u₄.ul.dù.sa₄-a du-ú-ru Si-ip-par^{ki}* “the fortress of Sippar called ‘B.’”

I 13 *Dūr-Apil-d Sin*: It occurs in the Old Babylonian letter VS XVI 185, but its location was uncertain. The fact is not irrelevant that it takes its name from Hammurapi’s second predecessor; it gives us a terminus post quem for the date of the document.

1. *Semita* 1 (1948) 25ff.
2. *New York Times*, Sunday, March 2nd, 1952. See also the note by F. J. Stephens following this article.
3. Combined text *Sumer* 3 (1947) 64ff.

I 14 *Hi-ba-ri-tum*: There are a number of occurrences in Kassite documents (BE XVII 26; 27; 34; 65; PBS I/2 15, 41). Perhaps *Hi-zu-ri-tum* of AO 6447 (RA 32 20ff.) obv. VI 39 should also be emended to read *Hi-ba-ri-tum*.

I 15 *Kar-Ka-ku-la-tim* "Quay of Kakkulātum": Kakkulātum follows *U-pi*⁴ (i.e. Opis⁴) in the "Harmal Geographic List"⁵ l. 141, and it also occurs in the just-quoted related text AO 6447 obv. V 18.⁶ The Ur III text BM 103398 (CT XXXII 19ff.) mentions it as *Kag-gu-la-tum*^{ki} I 6, IV 14 together with other towns of the Diyālā region. More recently it has turned up also in texts from Eshnunna and from Mari. Narām-Sin of Eshnunna, a tablet of whose was found at Sippar,⁷ considers his capture of the town important enough to furnish the name for one of his years.⁸ In a similar way Zimri-Lim of Mari coins a year name from his offering a statue to god *Ḫatta ša Kakkulim*.⁹ The occurrence in a letter of Iddin-Dagan of Isin (PBS V 65 I 1,15) shows at least that the town was also within the horizon of the Isin kings. The occurrences ARM II 30 and IV 21 do not contribute anything more precise,¹⁰ but underline the importance of the place. The designation *Kār-Kakkulātīm* points to a position on the Tigris river. It is probably on its western bank.

I 16 *Kār-x[...]*: The name remains undeciphered because of mutilation.

I 17 *Ma-ki-sūm*¹¹: The four-day stay is justified

4. The location of Kakkulātum here presupposed confirms the opinion defended by numerous scholars (notably F. H. Weissbach, Pauly-Wissowa RE articles "Cunaxa" and "Sittake"; cf. A. Ungnad, ZDMG 67 [1913] 133; L. Waterman, Prel. Report upon the Excav. at Tell Umar [1931] 1; S. I. Feigin, JAOS 59 [1939] 106; S. Smith, Isaiah Chapters XL-LV [1944] 204; Selim J. Levy, Sumer 3 [1947] 5) that Upi must lie close to the mouth of the Diyālā. Xenophon, writing on Opis, must have confused the Diyālā with the 'Ažēm.

5. Selim J. Levy, Sumer 3 (1947) 48ff.

6. Jean, l. c., read *Ka-ba-la-tum*.

7. VS VIII 3; cf. Koschaker, ZA NF 9 (1936) 216 f.; Th. Jacobsen, Gimilsin Temple 128.

8. Th. Jacobsen, l.c. 128 fn. 49; T. Baqir, Sumer 5 (1948) 52f.

9. Written with the Sumerogram Deimel ŠL 416.

10. For *Ḫiritum*^{ki} ARM II 30 5 cf. AO 6447 (RA 32 161ff.) obv. VI 38.

11. The reading with *s* — not *š/z* — is advocated by the spelling of the genitive with *si* in the Mari texts ARM II 25 9; IV 26 16; V 33 8; 59 9.

by the added remark (l. 18f.) "while the army assembled and the boats arrived." It becomes clear thereby that Makisum is a port and the journey continued by water. No doubt *Ma-ki-sūm* is identical with *Ma-an-ki-sum* in the name of Ḫammurapi's 32nd year where *ù ma-tā.gú. idigna* "and the territory along the Tigris" follows immediately. The Mari letters confirm the role of the town as a Tigris crossing,¹² the road westward leading to Rāpiqum on the Euphrates;¹³ it also serves as a staging point for military expeditions.¹⁴ At Mankisum — as the halfway mark — the king of Eshnunna, temporarily at Upi, intends to meet the king of Babylon.¹⁵ For connections between Mankisu(m) and Sippar see now also UET V 685 24f.

Clearly pertinent is furthermore the line *ištu PA a-di Ma-an-gi-sūm*^{ki} *māt* NE.RU^{ki} of the famous tablet KAV 92 that treats of Sargon's empire.¹⁶ The line states that the country of NE.RU^{ki} extends from PA — quite likely textually corrupt — to Mangisum. The enigmatic *māt* NE.RU^{ki}¹⁷ is to be explained as referring to *māt* (*W*)*arim* of which Eshnunna is the capital.¹⁸ This important country would otherwise be missing in the text. The identification considerably clarifies the structure of the list. Beginning with l. 14 — on *Ḫizzat* see presently — it enumerates the string of countries south and west of the Jabal Ḫamrīn and the Zagros ranges from the Tigris to the sea: "Akkad,"¹⁹ Qutium,²⁰ Niqqu,²¹ Der,²² Lagaš, Kutumta. In a second step it gives the countries in

12. *i-na né-bi-ir Ma-an-ki-si-im*^{ki} "at the crossing at Mankisum" ARM II 25 9.

13. ARM IV 59 14; Rāpiqum is known to be on the east bank of the Euphrates opposite Fallūja.

14. *ša-bu-um awil Eš-nun-na*^{ki} *i-na ka-bi-it-ti-šu i-na Ma-an-ki-si i-pa-aḫ-ḫu-ur* "the army of the Eshnunnean assembles with its main force at M." ARM IV 59 7ff.

15. ARM IV 26 9ff.

16. Albright, JAOS 45 (1925) 193ff.; E. Forrer, RLA 1 (1929) 237ff., Weidner, AfO 16 (1952) 1ff.

17. NE.RU read *erim* equals Akk. *ayyābu* "enemy" (Delitzsch, SGI 33); it may also be pronounced *ari* (ibid. 10). Ungnad — see RLA 2 (1935) 184 ad Samsu-iluna 24 — seems to have made the same combination.

18. Th. Jacobsen, OIC 13 (1932) 43f. and Gimilsin Temple (1940) 200 fn. 111; Thureau-Dangin, Chronologie de la prem. dyn. babylonienne (1942) 15, 19ff.

19. Possibly faulty.

20. Probably only that part of the country that extended south of the mountains.

21. Around modern Mendeli?

22. The city Der is at modern Badrah.

the river valleys: *māt* (*W*)*arīm* along the Diyālā and *māt* *(Ak-)ka-di-i* from *ḪI.SA* (= Kissik) in the south to Sippar in the north. It closes by listing the names of the regions in the steppes between: *Eda-maruš*, *māt Marī*, *māt Malgī*, *Emūt-bālum* etc.²³

I 20 *Ḫi-ša-at*: I have little hesitation in identifying this with *Ḫi-iz-za-at* (*Ḫi-is-sā-at*) given in KAV 92 14 as the northern (or western?) frontier of *māt Ak-ka-di-i^{ki}* (this probably corrupt).²⁴ At any rate *Ḫiṣat* must be on the Tigris upstream of Ma(n)kisum and, according to the distance indicated by one day's travel, close to the mouth of the 'Aẓēm river.

I 21 *Bu-lu-[x]*: This may be *Bu-lu²-kum* of the "Harmal Geographical List" IM 51143 (Sumer 3, 1947, 50ff.) line 149.

I 22 *Ia-ḫa-ab-ila*: This is likely to be identical with *Ia-aḫ-bi-la^{ki}* of ARM I 35, a station on a direct route from Mari to Ekallātum. The latter is located on the left bank of the Tigris, south of Assur and near the Eshnunna border. A normal day's march from the mouth of the 'Aẓēm would bring us to the region of Samarra. *Yahab-ila* is a West-Semitic name and probably to be derived from a verb *nḫb* "implore."²⁵

I 23: *Ma-ar-me-nu[um]* and I 24 *Su-ta-[x]* are not otherwise known.

I 25: The structure of this line — cf. also III 6 — deviates from the usual. At the head is apparently a construct state on which *ud.2-kam* "(of) two days" depends. I am inclined to propose [*ú-zu-ub-b*]ē-*e* and to assume that this is a technical term for "debarkation."²⁶ The boats would have to be abandoned south of the break-

23. ^a*Man-gi-is-si* in the deed of Kurigalzu treated by Ungnad, AKF 1 (1923) 29ff. (cf. Landsberger ZA NF 1 231) seems to be another place of the same name. The attempt at determining the position of our Mankisum with its help — as made, e.g., by Albright JAOS 45 (1925) 231 — leads to a much too southern location.

24. Cf. IV R² 36.1 II 25ff.: *A-ga-dé^{ki}*, *Ḫi-za^{ki}*, *Eš-nun-na^{ki}*, *Mā-al-ge-a^{ki}*, *Maš-kán-šāpir^{ki}* and see Zimmermann, ZA NF 5 271 fn. 3.

25. Arabic *naḫaba*. Cf. the personal name *Ia-aḫ-ḫa-ab-ēl* in the Chagar Bazar tablets (Iraq 7, 1940, 22ff., see p. 38).

26. *uzubbū*, in a juridical sense, means "divorce," the basic meaning being "abandonment"; cf. von Soden, Symbolae Koeschaker 200.

through of the river through the mountains known as al-Fatḫah, as strong current and rapids would make boat travel further upstream impractical.

The following lines are unfortunately mutilated and their restoration doubtful. One is tempted to assume that with line 27 [*Aš-]šu-ur* was reached. For the spelling cf. *Aš-šu-ru-ú^{ki}* ARM II 39 32; 42 10', 14'; *Aš-šu-ur^{ki}* CT VI 19b 7.

(b) From Apqum to Ašnakkum

II 1 *Ap-qum ša* ^dIM: The spelling here adopted is guaranteed by the etymology which in this case can be considered as virtually certain. Later (III 7) we shall encounter *Apqum ša* ^d*Balīḫa* and there is no doubt whatever that it refers to the town at the large pool which is considered the source of the Balikh river. West-Semitic *'apqum*, *'apiqum* is the correct designation of such pools. It appears in Hebrew not only in the name 'Áφəq but also in the expression 'φīqē *mayyim*; in Ugaritic it is represented by *'apq thmtm* "the pool of the two Deeps" where god 'El resides. Apqum has been identified with the tell of Būmāriyah (see F. J. Stephens, p. 74); indeed there is to this day a copious spring at the west side of the tell forming a pool.²⁷ In the case of *Apqum ša* ^d*Balīḫa* there is no doubt as to the reason why that god is mentioned; in our present case the reason for ^dIM is not apparent; it is not even certain that the reading is ^d*Adad*.

II 2 *Ki-iš-ki-iš*: This is not otherwise known.

II 3 *Ia-ap-tu-ru-um*: This is not known either. The name is clearly hypocoristic and West Semitic; cf. Arab. *fa'ara* "split, invent, create."

II 4: *Ta-ar-ḫu-uš* recurs III 26 on the return journey. Here a direct route southward directly to Sippar must branch off. In view of the probable location of Šubat-Enlil, the following station, it is reasonable to assume that we have reached the Jağjağ River. The most likely position is Tell Ḫumaidah from which a road, Roman and earlier, struck out due east²⁸ while another road leads south to Lake Ḫaṭūniyya and the Jabal Sinjār.²⁹

27. A. H. Layard, Nineveh and its Remains (abridged edition, London, 1882) 217; Herzfeld in Herzfeld and Sarre, Arch. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet 1 (1911) 207; S. Lloyd, Iraq 5 (1938) 135f.

28. A. Poidebard, La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie (1934) 163f.

29. Ibid. 157f.

II 5: *Šu-pa-at-^aEn-líl* recurs in this same spelling also on the return journey (III 25); the duplicate there offers the variant *Šu-ba-at-^aEn-líl*. This latter orthography is the common one in Mari and at Chagar Bazar.³⁰

The Mari texts show that Šubat-Enlil serves as alternate capital³¹ to Šamši-Adad I of Assur. When not in Nineveh³² he stays at Šubat-Enlil,³³ like Šubat-Šamaš,³⁴ it was most likely founded by him.

When combined with the new evidence the route described in ARM I 26 gains in importance. It lists four stations between Šubat-Enlil and Saggārātum on the lower Khabur where the territory of Mari is entered³⁵: Tillā, Ašīḫum, Iyatu(m), and Lakušir. The wording³⁶ suggests that these are all the stations there were and that the whole journey would take five days. This means a distance from Šubat-Enlil to Saggārātum of about 175 km. A glance at the map^{36a} with this in mind shows that all the stations must be accommodated in the Khabur valley, and that the one farthest to the north must be sought in the vicinity of Ḥasakah.³⁷ The journey is apparently a rapid one; for Qattunān,³⁸ which, to judge by ARM I 7

30. The variation is probably due to the loss of voice on the part of the noun *šubtum* in the status normalis. It was then extended to the status constructus where there was not, and never had been, immediate contact between *b* and the following *t*.

31. The assumption first made by Dossin (apud Thureau-Dangin RA 34, 1937, 135; later in Syria 19 112f.) and accepted by Gadd (Iraq 7, 1940, 23), Gelb (Hurrians and Subarians, 1944, 43 fn. 134) and J. Lewy (Orient. NS 21, 1952) is disproved by our text and need no longer be considered.

32. ARM I 10 10'; 60 41. The text I 7, a letter to Yasmaḥ-Adda in Mari, enumerates three important centers: Nineveh, Šubat-Enlil and Ekallātum.

33. ARM I 5 47; 10 10'ff.; 19 7'; 67 20; 75 25; 87 11; II 4 22; 6 8; IV 2 9ff.

34. See below ad III 4 and fn. 55.

35. Dossin, RA 35 (1938) 185 fn. 2; Kupper, RA 41 (1947) 161.

36. Note particularly *nu-ba-at-ta-n[i]* "our overnight rest" line 13; there is a short word missing in that line.

36a. The best routier of the Khabur valley is that of E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, Arch. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet 1 (1911) map 1 and 2. Compare also the map "Southern Mesopotamia" attached to A. Musil, The Middle Euphrates (1927).

37. The learned treatment of the text by J. Lewy (Orient. NS 21, 1952, 1ff.) could yield no satisfactory result since it starts out by taking the identity of Šubat-Enlil with Aššur for granted.

38. At Qattunān the Khabur becomes unusable for the transportation of logs by boat; they must be shifted

and 82, lies on this road, was not used for an overnight stay. The stations can only be approximately placed by their distances from one another. The starting point should be Saggārātum³⁹ (Saggārātum⁴⁰) the name of which is reflected by modern Seċer,⁴¹ ca. 17 km NNE of Busairah.

As far as Šubat-Enlil is concerned this leads to the following conclusion: it must be located on the one hand ca. 35 km to the north (northeast or northwest) of Ḥasakah and, on the other, ca. 140 km west of Bū-māriyah. This points almost exactly to Chagar Bazar. Indeed Landsberger has from the beginning advocated this identification.⁴² The horizon of the tablets from Chagar Bazar conforms well with that of Šubat-Enlil as revealed by our new document.⁴³

there to wagons (ARM I 7). The similarity in name suggests identification of Qattunān with the Qatna of Tukulti-Ninurta II (Annals, published by V. Scheil, Annales de Tukulti Ninip II, 1909, rev. 27). The itinerary of that king comprises the following stations: *Sūru ša mār Ḥa-lu-pe-e — Ū-sa-la-a — Dur-katlimmu ša māt La-ge-e — Qatnu — Latihū ša māt Di-ka-na-a-ia — Ša-^adi-kan-ni — Hi-qa-e-te* (probably read *Ṭābe-e-te*) — *Ma-[-...]-si — Gu-re-e-te — Ta-bi-te — Na-ši-pi-na*; the beginning is at the modern Šuwwar (Herzfeld, Reise 1 177 f.) and the end at Nusaybin.

39. Spelled with two *g*'s e.g., ARM II 69 13', and sometimes in the name of Samsu-iluna's 33rd year.

40. The nasalized form ARM IV 5 8.

41. I think that the position of Saggārātum at Šuwwar is too far to the north. There is hardly any doubt that the name is derived from the verb *sgr*, a variant of *skr* "dam up." I would identify it with the modern village of Seċer and its tell found on the map ARM III 112; it occurs also in the Dura papyrus 101 (Exc. at Dura, 7th and 8th Seasons p. 433ff.) in the form Σαχαση (ibid. p. 440f.). The routier would be about as follows:

Saggārātum:	Seċer
Lakušir:	near Tell Ḥusain
Iyatum:	near Samsānīyah
Ašīḫum:	near 'Arabān
Tillā:	near Ḥasakah

[This note was written when J.-R. Kupper kindly sent me a reprint of his article in Bibl. Orient. 9, 1952, 168 in which he independently reaches similar conclusions with respect to Saggārātum.]

42. See his remark Belleten 14 (1950) 252. It should have been obvious to everybody that this opinion is based on the character and the horizon of the tablets excavated there by Mallowan and published by Gadd in Iraq 7 (1940) 22ff. After publication of some of the Mari material it is easy to see how the smaller find fits in with the wealth coming from the center on the Euphrates.

43. Cf. Kaḫat here fn. 45, Kirdaḫat here fn. 104, Naḫur here III No. 12, Tillā here fn. 41, Urgiš here ad III 22.

II 6: *Šu-na-a* recurs in III 23 on the return journey from *Ḫarrān* to *Šubat-Enlil*, with the intermediate station *Ḫa-ar-si*. *Šamši-Adad* passes through *Šunā* on one of his inspection tours (ARM V 72) and, more significantly, *Šunā* is proposed in IV 47 as a place where the king and *Yasmaḫ-Adda*, coming from *Mari*, might meet.

II 7: *Aš-na-ak-ki/kum* is also touched again on the return journey (III 21). The added remark (ll. 8–9) “where the troops received . . . [. . .]” seems to indicate that, from here on, more than marching was the order of the day.

Ašnakkum must still be in the immensely rich country between the *Jağjağ* and the upper *Khabur*.⁴⁴ The *Mari* texts still connect it with places like *Tillā* (ARM II 79) *Qattunān* (ARM II 79), and even *Terqa* (ARM III 46). However, they also reveal relations with other places which we have reason to assume lay to the north and northeast; such places are *Ḫurra* and *Šinaḫ* (ARM II 33), *Kurda*, *Mazuramma*, *Naḫur* and *Kaḫat* (ARM II 62). Of these, *Ḫurra* and *Kaḫat* later are among the nine important towns of the *Mitanni* kingdom⁴⁵ which must all be located north of a line running from *Irrite* (between *Kargamish* and *Ḫarrān*⁴⁶) to *Taida* (between *Cizre*, Arab. *Jezirat ibn-‘Umar*, and *Diyarbakir*⁴⁷). *Kurda* is to be

44. For maps see Petermann’s *Mitteilungen* 1911/2 pl. 18; *Iraq* 3 (1936) fig. 1.

45. *9 ma-ḫa-zi-šu dan-nu-ti āl be-lu-ti-šu* “his nine fortified towns, centers of his lordship”: *Shalmaneser I* about *Sattuara* in *KAH I 13 II 35f*. The individual names are listed by *Adad-nirāri I* (*KAH I 5* and dupl. = *AOB 1 56ff.* and *Assur 10557* = *AfO 5 89ff.*) and by *Shalmaneser I* (*KAH I 13* = *AOB 1 110ff.*).

46. *Treaty Mattiwaza-Suppiluliumaš* (E. F. Weidner, *Bogh. Studien* 8 36ff.) obv. 37ff.; note also the relations of *Irrite* with *Išmirikka* in *KUB XXIII 68 + XXVI 41* (A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 44ff.).

47. *Taida* (*Taidu*, *Tidu*) is to the northwest of *Assyria* proper. In *Middle-Assyrian* times, including the period of *Tiglath-Pileser I*, it was an administrative center (*KAJ 121 4*; cf. 110 12; *AfO 10 fn. 148*). According to the *Assur Stela No. 39* (24. *WVDOG*) the district of *Ti-di* together with those of *Sinabu*, *Mallani*, *Amedi*, *Alzi* and *Suḫni* formed the province of *Nairi*. *Tidu* must have been at the eastern limit of the territory thus circumscribed since it remained in *Assyrian* hands even in times of extreme shrinkage (*KAJ 187*; cf. *AfO 10 21*). To judge by the *Kurkh stela* of *Aššurnāširpal II*. 43, 48 (*Budge and King, Annals of the Kings of Assyria* 238ff.) *Tidu* was east of *Tuḫḫan* = *Kurkh*. All this sums up to the conclusion that *Taida* was the first town of any size on or near the *Tigris* north of its break-out through the *Tūr-‘Abdīn*.

identified with *Gurta* in the list of *Mitannian* cult centers contained in the *Mattiwaza* treaties;⁴⁸ it occurs frequently in *Mari* texts.⁴⁹ *Šinaḫ* is not only connected with *Ḫurra* but also with *Urgiḫ* (see presently).⁵⁰ *Naḫur* will be dealt with below (III No. 12); *Mazuramma* does not occur elsewhere.

The localization of *Ašnakkum* throws a startling light on the power of *Narām-Sin* of *Eshnunna* who left tablets with the date *mu Aš-na-ak-kum (ù Tar-ni-ib) ba-an-dib* (Th. Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple* p. 192), *Akk. mu Aš-na-ak-kum iṣ-ša-ba-tu* (*BIN VII 80*) “the year when *Ašnakkum* (and *Tarnib*) was taken.” The tablets must be ascribed to *Narām-Sin* because his name appears on the other tablets of the same archive to which *BIN VII 80* belongs.^{50a} This king, then, must have extended his conquests far beyond *Kakullātum* (see above p. 56), *Aštabala* (*Taha Baqir, Sumer V/1 55f.*) and *Sippar*.^{50b} At what time did this happen? It could only have happened at a period when the other *Babylonian* states, *Isin*, *Larsa* and *Babylon* alike, were weak, and when, at the same time, *Assyria* wielded little power. This means before the ascendance of *Šamši-Adad* who was to rule over *Assyria* and the *Middle Euphrates* region for 33 years.^{50c} Since *Šamši-Adad* according to the list *IM 53955*^{50d} died in the fifth year of *Ibāl-pī-el* (II) the successful conquests of *Narām-Sin* of *Eshnunna* must fall about three decades earlier, i.e., in the days of *Apil-Sin* of *Babylon*.^{50e}

The new text unfortunately breaks off at this point. The journey may well have continued to the west without much delay. I suspect that in l. 17 we are already beyond the [*Ap-qum ša aBalā]ḫa* (cf. III 7). This would mean maximally eight stations for about 200 km.

48. *KBo I 1 rev. 54* (E. F. Weidner, *Bogh. Stud.* 8 32f.) and *KBo I 3 rev. 41* (*ibid.* 53f.).

49. Cf. *Jean, RA 35* (1938) 107ff. The way from *Kurda* to *Mari* goes through *Qattunān* (*ARM II 81; 82; IV 69*). There existed in *Byzantine* times a *Kordes* in the immediate vicinity of *Dara* (now *Derik*); see E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches* (1935) 11.

50. *ARM II 38; IV 40*.

50a. F. R. Kraus, *JCS 3* (1951) 46f.

50b. See Th. Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple* 128.

50c. This is the figure given by the *Khorsabad* king-list.

50d. *Taha Baqir, Sumer 5* (1949) 84.

50e. Th. Jacobsen’s synchronistic list (*Gimilsin Temple* p. 126) can easily be adjusted thus.

(c) From the Euphrates via Ḫarrān
to Šubat-Enlil

III 1 [x-l]a-at-tu-u[m]. I do not know a plausible restoration; the sign marked x should be very narrow, i.e. preferably *a* or *za*.

III 2 [g]ú^{??} nārKIB-nun-na. It seems virtually certain — because of the sequel — that the Euphrates is meant; one would expect UD.KIB.nun-na, i.e. Sum. *Buranunna* > Akk. **Puran-tum* > *Purattum*. Is the UD forgotten or is it omissible?⁵¹

III 3 [x]-ba-at-tum: The sign marked x ends with a two-headed upright. If only one sign is missing it should be a wide one, i.e. *ia* (more likely than *e*) or *kal*, *un*.

III 4 [T]u-ul-tu-ul: Because of the following towns, Aḫunā and Zalpaḫ which in ARM I 118 appear together with Tuttul, the restoration is beyond cavil. Tuttul seems to be the older form for Tutul. Its entry at this point — note particularly the remarks on III 5–8 — shows how justified Dossin was when he placed the Tuttul of the Mari letters — or at least one town of that name — in the extreme west of Upper Mesopotamia.⁵² According to the available evidence it is situated on a river⁵³ and is rather prosperous,⁵⁴ the Assyrian administrative and military center of Šubat-Šamaš is near by,⁵⁵ and it is from here that one sets out for Kargamiš⁵⁶ and Yamḫat.⁵⁷ The context of the Illinois tablet proves that the river can only be the Euphrates itself.

III 5 [A-]ḫu-na-a: For the restoration ARM I 118 is decisive since there Aḫunā is associated

51. The reading *bura* for UD.KIB has not been satisfactorily explained as yet. Cf. Poebel, ZA NF 3 270f.; B. Landsberger, Ur-Ea ad 643; Poebel, Miscellaneous Studies 12.

52. At the "Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale" at Leiden 1952; see, for the present, Orient. 21, 1952, 496. The existence of a southern Tuttul, also on the Euphrates but near Hit, is not affected.

53. ARM I 25 (also mentions Šubat-Šamaš).

54. ARM I 18; 68; 73; 118.

55. ARM I 25; 118; IV 27. The last-quoted text says (l. 34ff.) that Šubat-Šamaš is 20 *bēru* distant from the town of Išmē-Dagan, but close to the fortified district of Mari. This can only be a round figure which falls far short of the real distance (Šubat-Šamaš — Ekallātum ca. 600 km; Šubat-Šamaš — Mari ca. 450 km.).

56. ARM V 9.

57. ARM II 137.

with both Tuttul and Zalpaḫ; cf. furthermore II 53.⁵⁸

The town was already known from the treaty of the Hittite king Šuppiluliumaš with Mattiwaza of Mitanni recovered at Boğazköi and published as KBo I 1.⁵⁹ There, rev. 14ff., are enumerated two sets of towns, originally part of the country Aštata (see presently), that were on two different occasions incorporated into the kingdom of Kargamiš. One, on the western bank of the Euphrates, had been allotted to the new principality when it was first established after Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Syria; it includes the following towns: Ḫarmurik,⁶⁰ Šipri,^{60a} Mazuwati, Šurun, (<...>)⁶¹ The other set lies on the eastern bank⁶² and was conquered by Piyaššiliš of Kargamiš when he reinstated Mattiwaza as king of Mitanni on Šuppiluliuma's orders. It comprises:

Igall[ātum?⁶³ . . .], Aḫunā, Tirqa⁶⁴

58. See also the passages quoted by Dossin, Mél. Dussaud 986; there Zalmakum and Yamḫat are mentioned with Aḫunā.

59. Transliterated and translated by E. F. Weidner in Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien (Boghazköi-Studien 8, 1923) 2ff.

60. This might also be read Ḫurmurik or Murmurik; it reurs as ḪAR-mu-ri-ga-aš in KBo V 6 II 8ff. (annals of Šuppiluliumaš). The latter text relates that the whole country of Kargamiš, except for the capital, submits to the approaching Hittites and that, with Kargamiš holding out, the Hittite army establishes itself in Ḫarmurigaš while the Hittite king returns to Anatolia for the performance of religious duties. Thereupon the Ḫurrians come and lay siege to the town. When the king comes back to Syria the siege is lifted and the Hittites in turn besiege Kargamiš. The situation indicates that Ḫarmurik is south of Kargamiš. If, as is likely, it is the northernmost town in Aštata it should, for geographical reasons, be looked for south of the mouth of the Sajur River.

60a. Dussaud's identification of Šipri with Safirah near the Jabūl lake (C. R. de l'Acad. des Inscr. 1928 117f.) is not acceptable. The site is too far from the Euphrates.

61. In the text that we possess one name has been inadvertently omitted. Forrer, Forschungen 2 (1926) 41 fn. 4 argues with good reason that the city Aštata should have been mentioned there.

62. If there was any doubt on this point — see S. Smith, JRAS 1928 874 — it is now removed by the new text.

63. This is a likely restoration of Forrer's, proposed l. c.

64. This cannot possibly be the Tirqa at Tell 'Ašārah below the mouth of the Khabur. We are simply confronted here by an identity of name. Our Tirqa may

The country of Aštata, according to the Boğazköy texts, where alone it occurs, is not only a neighbor of Kargamiš as the quoted passage presupposes, but also of Ḫalpa and of Nuḫašši (KBo I 6 obv. 21ff.; cf. KBo I 4 II 42). This indicates a position on the westernmost course of the Euphrates and more exactly in its southern half.⁶⁵ The situation encountered in KBo IV 4 II 58ff.⁶⁶ (Annals of Muršiliš) confirms this. There the city Aštata occupies a strategic position from which events in the Euphrates valley toward Assyria, in Syria toward Egypt and in nearby Kargamiš can be watched equally well. The logical place for the city Aštata is at or near Meskene (Barbalissus).⁶⁷

The context of our itinerary^{67a} enforces for Aḫunā a position relatively far to the north; it cannot be far from a point where a road leads eastward to Ḫarrān. The most southern position possible is in the region of Serrin. This, in turn, would relegate Tuttul (Tultul) to the vicinity of Tell Aḫmar. If the interpretation of III 2 given above is correct, the river had been reached two stations further north, which would bring us approximately to Birecik.

III 6 *Za-al-pa-a[h]*: This restoration — and not *Za-al-pa-l[um]* which I believed should be assumed when copying — is preferred because of the Mari letters. *Zalpaḫ* occurs there in the required posi-

be the *Tir-qá-an^{ki} ša dBu-la-la* found V R 12 No. 6 46 (cf. KAV 183 15). It stands to reason that the western towns called *Tirqa* bear a Semitic name. The interchange with *s* evidenced by the variant *Sirqu* seems to point to an original interdenial. The verbal root *ḫrq* of which Akk. *zerqu*, *zerēqu*, *zurāqu/zurēqu* “water pipe” (cf. Laessøe, JCS 7 14) is derived has to do with irrigation.

65. On Nuḫašši see most recently J. Lewy, *Orient*. 21 (1952) 408ff. The notions of S. Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology* (1940) 37 and *Statue of Idrimi* (1949) 56f. — interposing Neya between Nuḫašši and the Euphrates — are unacceptable to me.

66. See A. Götze, *Annalen des Muršiliš* 118ff.

67. E. Forrer, *Forschungen* 2 (1926) 41ff. (map on p. 57) identifies *Tirqa* with *Tirqa* near the Khabur and therefore moves Aštata far down the Euphrates. He maintains this view also in the article *Aštata* in *RLA* 1 (1930) 304f.

67a. For maps of the region between the Euphrates and the Balikh see *Klio* 1 (1902) p. 444; *Geographical Journal* 1909 behind p. 120; *Petermann's Mitteilungen* 1914/1 pls. 35. Forrer's map in *Klio* 30 (1937) is valuable because it gives the ancient sites observed by him in the Euphrates valley.

tion (ARM I 118⁶⁸; II 53⁶⁹). The structure of the line is peculiar; a construct state is perhaps missing at the beginning (cf. above on I 25).

III 7 *Apqum ša dBalīḫa*: The reading *dBalīḫa* for ^dKAS.KUR was first deduced from the fact that in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser ^{id}KAS.KUR.A interchanges with *Ba-li-ḫi*⁷⁰ and that in the Sumerian king list the name of king *Ba-li-iḫ* is in one copy written with KAS.KUR.⁷¹ It was then confirmed by Landsberger from a Nippur text excavated in 1952 (*Proto-diri-watru*). *Apqum ša dBalīḫa* is the town near the impressive pool which forms the source of the Balikh river and is known as 'Ain al-'Arūs or 'Ain Ḫalil ar-Raḥmān;⁷² the maps show it 2 km south of the railroad station Tell 'Abyaḍ. The town at the pool may be the one which in the “census of Ḫarrān” is simply called *Balīḫu*.⁷³

III 8 *Ḫarrān*: For the spelling with the sign KAS in this early text compare ARM V 75 8' (*i-na* KAS-*nim^{ki}*). On the position no words need be wasted.

III 9: *Sa-ḫul-da* is not otherwise known.

III 10: *Ha-zi-ri* is otherwise unknown unless it is identical with *Ha-an-su-ri* in the much younger “census of Ḫarrān.”⁷⁴

III 11 *Ad/t-mi*: The letter ARM I 103, to be quoted again for the following station, is clearly pertinent, in particular the ll. 9f.: *iš-tu Ni-iḫ-r[i-ia^{ki}] a-na Ad-mi-im^{ki} at-ta-al[la-ak]* “from Niḫriya I shall depart for Ad/tmum.” This suffices to localize the town near the northern rim of the great Mesopotamian plain. For, Niḫriya, in Assyrian inscriptions, is the western neighbor of Kutmuḫ⁷⁵ and, to judge by the Mari text ARM

68. See above.

69. “The sheikhs of the Banū-Yamīna assembled in *Zalpaḫ* and went to Aḫunā.” Note also *Za-al-ba-aḫ* in a text quoted *Symbolae Koschaker* p. 117 (“five hundred soldiers of *Zalmakum* entered *Zalpaḫ*”).

70. F. Delitzsch, *Paradies* 183; Deimel, *ŠL* 166: 26.

71. Th. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King list* 81 fn. 76.

72. E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (1883) 230f.; M. Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 14 (1905) 7f.; M. E. L. Mallowan, *Iraq* 8 (1946) 112.

73. C. H. W. Johns, *An Assyrian Doomsday Book* (1901) p. 10f. Cf. also *BIN* VI 176 5.

74. C. H. W. Johns, l. c.

75. Aššur stela (24. WVD OG) No. 66, where Ninua,

I 19 and some unpublished letters (Dossin, Symbolae Koschaker 116), also a neighbor of Šuda.⁷⁶ On the occurrences in Kültepe texts see below.

III 12 *Hu-bu-ur-me-eš*: There is no doubt that *Hu-ur-mi-iš^{ki}* ARM I 103 is the same place. The fact that *Ad/tmum* — here immediately preceding — recurs in the same text guarantees the correctness of the equation.

III 13 PA.MIR.UŠ, probably *wakil rēdīm* (*rē-dūtīm?*): This may simply be a military post on some stretch without permanent settlement. There are few villages — and tells — between Ḥarrān and Rās-al-'Ain.

III 14: Tunda recurs rather surprisingly in the "Fremdländer Liste" of the Hittite evocatio of the Istar of Nenuwa (KUB XV 35 I 23 and KBo II 36 obv. 4ff.)⁷⁷:

[*nu*]-*za ma-a-an* ^{URU}*Ne*-[*nu-wa*] ^{URU}*Ne-nu-wa-za*
e-ḫu
ma-a-an-za ^{URU}*Tal-mu*[-*ši*] ^{URU}*Tal-mu-ša-az e-ḫu*
ma-a-an-za ^{URU}*Du-un-ta* ^{URU}*Du*[-*un-ta-az e-ḫu*]

ma-a-an-za I-NA KUR ^{URU}*Mi-it*-[*ta-n*]i ^{URU}*Mi-it*-
ta-na-za e-ḫu
ma-a-an-za I-NA KUR ^{URU}*Ki-in*-[*za*] ^{URU}*Ki-in*-
za-az e-ḫu
 etc.

"If you are in Nineveh, come here from Nineveh;
 if you are in Talmuš,⁷⁸ come here from Talmuš;
 if you are in Dunta, come here from Dunta!"

If you are in the country of Mitanni, come here from Mitanni;

if you are in the country of Kinza, come here from Kinza!"

etc.

It is clear that Nineveh, Talmuš, Tunda, Mitanni

Kutmuḫ and Niḫriya are in the hands of one and the same governor.

76. Šuppiluliumaš, when marching on Waššuganni, passes through Kutmar and Šuda (KBo I 1 obv. 25ff.). It must be remarked that neither Kutmar (= Kullimeri?) nor Waššuganni are fixed points on the map as yet. The Assyrian list II R 53 No. 1 (see E. Forrer, Provinzeinteilung 52) offers ^{ai}*Šu-u-du* and ^{ai}*Tuš-ḫa-an* in one and the same line just before ^{ai}*Gu-za-na* and ^{ai}*Na-ši-bi-na*, also in one line. This seems to point to a position near Derik.

77. Cf. H. Th. Bossert, *Asia* (1946) 34f.

78. We must read *Tal-mu-ši* etc. for the name until now read as *Rimuš* etc. (see most recently A. Goetze, *JNES* 12, 1953, 120) because of *Ta-al-mu-ūš^{ki}* ARM 43 6.

are stations of a journey from Assyria proper through Upper Mesopotamia toward Syria. Note also ^{DIŠTAR} ^{URU}*Du-un-ta*(!) KUB XXX 31 III 46 followed III 52 by ^{DIŠTAR} ^{URU}*Ni-nu-wa*.

III 15 *Ku-ub-šum*: For what it is worth, reference may be made to the station *Tigub(b)is* of the Tabula Peutingeriana, 54 mp from Ḥarrān on a track leading directly to the middle Khabur; from *Tigub(b)is* another track goes to the source of the Khabur ("ad fontem Scoborem") which is 16 mp distant. The Ravennatus has *Thegoubris* instead; in Ptolemy *θεργουβις* corresponds.

III 16–17: *Pa-ak/q-ta-nu* and *Kul-za-la-nu* are not otherwise known.

III 18 *B/Pu-z/š/sa-nu-um*: This may conceivably be an older form of the later *Guzana* which is firmly identified with Tell Ḥalāf near Rās al-'Ain.⁷⁹ One certainly must expect this important site to be mentioned about here in our itinerary.

III 19 *Ma-az-me-nu-um*: From Mari (ARM II 3 9) *Ma-aš-mi-a-na-am* (acc.) ought to be adduced; it is closely connected with *Ša-al-lu-ur-ri-ia^{ki}*. For the present, this does not lead us further since *Sa-lu-ri-ia* in Enzata⁸⁰ is too far off.

III 20: *A-la-an* has not otherwise come to my attention in cuneiform inscriptions.

III 21: With *Ašnakkum* a place is reached which had already been touched on the outward journey; see above ad II 7.

III 22 *Ur-ge-eš*: *Urgeš/Urgiš/Urkiš* is the ancient city which was considered as the home of the Ḥurrian god Kumarbi (see now *JCS* 5 146 l. 15). Its significance is underlined by two important inscriptions that must ultimately come from there, the so-called "Samarra tablet" (RA 9 1ff.) and the Ḥurrian foundation inscription (RA 42 1ff.)⁸¹ both going back to the Akkad period. They mention two kings of Urkiš, *Tiš-atal* and *Ari-sen* respectively. Thanks to the new text our information as to the geographic position of the

79. See Friedrich-Meyer-Ungnad-Weidner, *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf* (AfO Beiheft 6, 1940).

80. Shalmaneser III Monolith (III R 7f.) II 79.

81. The twin of the lion, which the Louvre acquired together with the tablet, is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

town⁸² has become much more precise; by searching in the western half of the Khabur triangle, workers in the field should be able to locate its ruins.

In the Mari age Urkiš was ruled by Ari-šenni (ARM II 38; IV 40).⁸³ Its geographic relations are now with Hurra and Šinaḥ (ARM II 38 and IV 40), with Naḥur and Burundu (B 308 = Semitica 1 18ff.), furthermore with Šinamum (B 590 = Semitica 1 21ff.). Hurra and Šinaḥ have already been encountered when Ašnakkum (see above ad II 7) was discussed. Naḥur, also mentioned there, will be discussed in part III of this paper; so will Burundu. Regarding Šinama nothing can be made out with our present means.⁸⁴ Urgiš is naturally also within the horizon of the tablets from Chagar Bazar (Iraq 7 27ff., cf. No. 994 on pl. 4).

With regard to *Ha-wi-lum*, the town of the Nerigal whose temple Tiš-atal erected, the question may be asked whether it might be identical with *Ka-wi-la-a^{ki}* of ARM II 107; IV 35, both times mentioned together with Naḥur. Attention should also be called to the nisbah *Ha-wi-li-um* TCK I 89 4.

III 23: For *Šu-na-a* see above ad II 6.

III 24: *Ha-ar-si* (variant *Ha-ar-ru-si*) is not otherwise known.

III 25 *Šubat-Enlil*: See above ad II 5.

Between Harrān (III 8) and Šubat-Enlil (III 25) the text enumerates no less than 16 stations. The total distance is only 175 km. Hence the route followed is not the direct one and there should be a certain amount of zigzagging. This is especially borne out with regard to the stretch for which we possess a double record:

outward journey:	return trip:
Tarḥuš,	Tarḥuš,
Šubat-Enlil,	Šubat-Enlil,
	Ḥar(ru)si,
Šunā,	Šuna,
	Urgeš,
Ašnakkum	Ašnakkum.

82. Cf. RA 42 (1948) pp. 2 and 18.

83. See furthermore Jean, *Semitica* 1 (1948) 17ff.

84. The occurrences ARM II 9 7; IV 77 5ff. are unrevealing.

We must conclude that similarly the other stations are distributed over a fairly wide belt on both sides of the road from Chagar-Bazar to Harrān.^{84a}

(d) From Šubat-Enlil to Sippar and Larsam

III 26 *Ta-ar-ḥu-uš*: See above ad II 6 where a position close to Tell Ḥumaidah was assumed. At this station obviously a direct road toward the south — different from the one that connects Tarḥuš with Apqum (and Nineveh) — branches off.

III 27 *Ba-bi-ir-rum*: The reading is difficult, since the first sign is damaged in the main text; the initial *ba* is taken from the small duplicate. There, however, a clear *Ba-bi-KIB-na* is read. Harmonization can be achieved by assigning to KIB the value *gir_x* attested in CT XLI 47 l. 45.⁸⁵ Babigirrum (Babigirna⁸⁶) is so reminiscent of the (*lacus*) *Beberaci* of the Tabula Peutingeriana that identity is likely. Today the name of the lake, so surprising a feature in the steppe of Upper Mesopotamia, is Ḥaṭṭūniyyah.⁸⁷

III 28 *La-a-da-a*: The Mari letter ARM II 122 refers to a place *Al-la-ḥa-da^{ki}* which may be compared on the supposition that *Al-Laḥada* is to be understood. The quoted letter is particularly interesting from our point of view because it centers around the news that an army of 10,000 Babylonians coming from Sippar has passed through the place where Meptum, the writer of the letter, is staying and that they are on their way to Al-laḥada to install Ḥulālum as king in Atamrum's stead. The unpublished economic archives are said to mention Atamrum as king of Andarik (Syria 20, 1939, 109).

III 29: *Ka-li-zi(-it)* is not otherwise known.

III 30: *Mar-ra-ta-a* (variant *Ma-ar-a-ta*) may contain an allusion to the salt marshes of the regions south of the Jabal Sinjār.⁸⁸ This is the

84a. For the region between Urfa-Harrān and Derik-Rās al-'Ain see Petermann's *Mitteilungen* 1911/2 pl. 18; *ibid.* 1914/1 pl. 34; *ibid.* 1916 pl. 31.

85. Cf. B. Landsberger, *MSL* II p. 80 ad No. 643f.

86. Is *-na* the well known Hurrian plural article?

87. Cf., e.g., Herzfeld in Herzfeld-Sarre, *Reise* 1 198. Note also A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome* 157f.

88. Cf. Aurel Stein, *Geogr. Journal* 92 (1938) 64f. Also the map in S. Lloyd's survey of the Sinjār region, *Iraq* 5 (1938) p. 125.

region through which our road seems to pass. It must roughly follow the track through Ḥaṭra to Baghdad, the stations of which are given in A. Musil's book *The Middle Euphrates* (p. 60) and on the map accompanying it. However, neither Sinjār (Late Assyrian and Roman *Singara*) nor *Ḥaṭra* occur in the itinerary unless they are hidden behind different, older names.⁸⁹

III 31 *Za-ni-pa-a* (variant *Za-ni-ba-a*): ARM V 43 provides another reference to this town, placing it alongside Apqum (= Būmāriyah, see above III 1) and in parallelism with *Sanduwātum* (west of Assur, see below p. 66). This confirms our belief that we are in or around the Wādī Tartār.⁹⁰

III 32 *A-du-ū*: ARM V 50 speaks about moving a contingent of 700 men from Lubdum to Atūm so that they may be at the disposal of Yasmaḥ-Adda, viceroy of Mari. Lubdum⁹¹ is near Arapḥa (Kirkuk) and probably to the southwest of it, toward the Tigris.⁹² Hence, At/dūm may well be west of the river and the narrows at Al-Faṭḥah.

III 33 *Ka-mi-il-ḥu* is not otherwise known.⁹³

There follows a gap; at the beginning of col. IV about 9 names — if there were no descriptive insertions — are lost, equivalent to 250–300 km.

IV 3' *Dūr[-x]x*: This is three stations north of Sippar. The form of the name "Fort of . . ." suggests that the belt of fortifications⁹⁴ crossing from the Tigris at Samarra to the Euphrates upstream of Fallūḡah is now reached. These fortifications existed at least since the Third Dynasty of Ur and served to protect the northern frontier of sedentary life. They are about 90 km above Sippar, i.e., about three days' marching distant.

89. Cf. also ^a*Sur-mar-a-ti* (and the like), the old name of Sāmarrā (see Sachs, *JAOS* 57, 1937, 419f.).

90. *Zanipatum* ARM III 4; 79 is to be kept apart; it forms part of the *ḥalaṣ* Terqa, see Kupper, *RA* 41 160.

91. See most recently Weidner, *AfO* 15 (1951) 79.

92. *Adad-nirari* I gives as limits of his conquest Lubdu and Rāpiqu — toward Babylonia — on the one hand and Eluḥat — toward the west — on the other.

93. Cf. perhaps *Ku-mu-ul-ḥi-im^{ki}* (gen.) ARM IV 64.

94. For the present remnants cf. A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates* pp. 51f., 142, 148, 154 and the accompanying map.

IV 4' *Ma-ga-la-a*: Otherwise unknown.

IV 5' *AL.KA².MI.NI-a*: The reading of the name is problematic; however, one would prefer, in an Old Babylonian name, to read the combination *MI.NI-a* as *ṣilli²-a*.

IV 6' and 7' give us with Sippar (UD.KIB.*nun-na^{ki}*) and Babylon (*Kā.dingir-ra^{ki}*) two fixed points. The stay of two days in Sippar and of 13 days in Babylon are, we can assume, not so much for rest as for reporting and perhaps the discharge of the troops.

IV 8' *Ḥa-ap-ḥa-ap-pi*: Otherwise unknown.

IV 9' *Ip-la-aḥ*: Cf. *i-na Ip-la-ḥi* TCL I 187 2.

IV 10' *Ša-na-sa-pi*: Otherwise unknown.

IV 11' *Ra-za-ma*: This is different from other places of the same name in Upper Mesopotamia (see below p. 66) and not easily identified with *Razama ša Yamūt-bālim* (ARM I 18 7) either.

IV 12' *Larsam*: As the end point it must also have been the starting point of the journey.

III

The Road from Aššur to Cappadocia according to the Kültepe tablets

It seems a useful task to compare the road across Mesopotamia from the Tigris to the Euphrates with the road used about a century and a half earlier by the Assyrian merchants who had their center at Kaniš in Cappadocia.⁹⁵ The more so as, by the nature of things, there must be relations between the two roads.

Unfortunately we do not have at our disposal among the Kültepe tablets an itinerary like the one just discussed. What we do have are occasional notes concerning expenses, incurred on the way from Assur to Kaniš, which always cover only segments of the road and may not mention all the stations. Numerous overlaps and a roughly consistent sequence nevertheless renders at least partial reconstruction feasible. It becomes clear from the diagram following on p. 65.

95. The "Cappadocian" road has recently been dealt with by E. Bilgiç, *AfO* 15 (1951) 20ff. — previously in *Türk language Belleten* 10 (1946) —; J. Lewy, *Oriental* 21 (1952) 265 ff., 393ff. These articles have greatly facilitated the present task.

alum (Aššur)				TCL XX 164 3	VAT 9295 3	BM 77810 [?]
1 Saduatum		BIN IV 193 6	TCL XV 163 6			
2 Razama (ša Bura-ma-i)		8	9	CCTI 42a 3		
3 Abu-tiban		10	11			
4 Gad/tra (Gad/tra)	VAT 9260 "13"?	11	13, 15	6, 8		[x], 6'
5 Razama (ša Uḫakim)		BIN IV 124 3f.	18	13	x+10	
6 Habura	"15"					
Buralum	"17"				4	3, x+10 x+12.
Širun	"19"					
7 Uzuhinum				CCTI 26b 2		
8 Ašihum						
9 Tar(a)kum		6f.	22	4, 11		10'
10 Abum		11, 13	25f.	TCL XIV 57 6		12'
11 Amas						14'
12 Naḫur						16'
13 Ad/tnum	"2"					
14 [Marda]man	"6"					
15 Eluḫut				(19)	16	(17')
16 Ab/prim				9, 19	7	19'
						(gap)
17 Haga					2	le. edge
18 Zalpa		BIN IV 180 14			14	
19 Dadania		16				
20 Burudum		ICK I 84 21	Tablet x			
21 Šimala	"26"	21				
22 Haḫḫum		BIN IV 114 19	✓✓			
23 Temelkia		19	✓			
24 Kaniš				12	15	x+12

The unpublished tablets utilized in the diagram drawn up above on this page are taken from the following sources:

BM 77810 = "Ramsay 1": PSBA 6 (1883/4) p. 18f.; photo which the BM made for me many

years ago; transliteration of J. Lewy, *Oriens* 21 (1952) 271 fn. 4. D. J. Wiseman of the British Museum kindly called my attention to the fact that the lines numbered by Lewy x + 11 and x + 12 are in reality on the left edge, hence mis-

placed in Lewy's transliteration. He promised most obligingly to furnish an autograph of the important text for publication in JCS.

VAT 9260: transliteration by J. Lewy, *Orient.* 19 (1950) 19 fn. 3 and 21 (1952) 265; J. Lewy kindly communicated to me the rest of text, a courtesy for which I want to express my thanks also publicly.

The most significant fact that emerges from the comparison of the reconstructed road with the road system of the Mari age, which consists chiefly of the east-west road (Nineveh-)Apqum — Šubat-Enlil — Ḫarrān — Tuttul and of the north-south road Šubat-Enlil — Mari, is this: They have two points in common, Ašīḫum and Ad/tmum. In the Mari letters Ašīḫum is on the Khabur and was placed above (fn. 41) approximately at 'Ara-bān. Unfortunately the place of Ašīḫum on the "Cappadocian" road is not as securely established as one might wish since it occurs only once (CCT I 27a 13); it might be on either side of Abrum (ibid. 7). It is safe, however, to conclude that the sector Aššur-Ašīḫum of the "Cappadocian" road remains south of the "Mari" road.

The crossing takes place not before the region of Ḫarrān; according to the new itinerary Ad/tmum — which in Kültepe texts appears in VAT 9260 (*Orient.* 21 265) — is east, but not too far east, of Ḫarrān (see above II ad III 11). The "Cappadocian" road, then, coming from Ašīḫum seems to skirt the Jabal 'Abd al-'Azīz on its southern side and to strike out straight toward Ḫarrān. It must also be concluded that, from Admum on, the "Cappadocian" road coincides with or keeps to the north of the "Mari" road — the mutilation of the itinerary does not allow us to decide which —, aiming at the crossings of the the Euphrates at Birecik or at Samsat.

In the following I shall subdivide the road into four sectors

- (a) From Aššur to the Khabur,
- (b) From the Khabur to Ad/tmum,
- (c) From Ad/tmum to the Euphrates,
- (d) From the Euphrates to Kaniš.

- (a) From Aššur to the Khabur

Known stations are as follows:

- (1) Saduatum. Cf. Sanduwātum ARM V 43, parallel with Apqum (see above II ad II 1) and

VAT 9295: transliteration by J. Lewy, *Orient.* 21 (1952) 266 fn. 2.

"Tablet X": a tablet seen by J. Lewy in the hands of a dealer; he communicated some lines in his *Die Kültepetexte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn* (1930) p. 6, fn. 2.

Zanipā (see above II ad III 31); it is certainly close to the Tigris.

(2) Razama *ša Bu-ra-ma-x*. On the frequency of the name Razama see above II ad IV 11', also No. 5 below. In Mari texts (ARM II 39) Razama is associated with Karana, a place near the Tigris (Dossin, RHA 573 fn. 4; Kupper, RA 42, 1948, 39f.). There exists a route from Razama — either this one or the one listed as No. 5 — directly to Qattunān (on the Khabur) which is called *ḫarrān libbi mātīm* "road of the heart of the country": ARM II 78 32.⁹⁶

(3) Ab/pu-Tiban is not known from other sources. The division here introduced is provisional.

(4) *Ga-da-ra*, *Ga-ta-ra*, *Ga-at-ra* recurs in Mari texts as *Qa-ta-ra-a*. The letter ARM IV 29, written by Išmē-Dagan to Yasmaḫ-Adda, is of particular significance for historical geography; it shows (1) that Qatarā is two days' travel away from Ekallātum,⁹⁷ the intermediary station being Manaḫatan,⁹⁸ (2) that messages sent ahead to Šubat-Enlil bring an official to Qatarā to meet the writer of the letter; this suggests that Qatarā is about halfway between Ekallātum and Šubat-Enlil. Other occurrences are II 39; V 36; 41; 42.

(5) Razama, probably the one that is differentiated by the specification *ša Ū-ḫa-ki-im* (CCT 42a 13). See also sub 6.

(6) The group Ḫabura — Buralum (— Širun) comprises three names which belong closely together and must be attached to Razama in view of ARM I 109⁹⁹ and V 67. I take this to be Razama *ša*

96. Cf. Kupper, RA 42 (1948) 38f.

97. This is not mentioned, but certainly presupposed. Cf. ARM II 108.

98. *Ma-nu-ḫa-ta-an^{ki}* is quoted (from an unpublished text) Mél. Dussaud 986 fn. 1.

99. Razama, Burullum and Ḫabūratum are under one and the same *šandabakkum*.

Uḫakim. The name Ḫabura (in Mari Ḫabūratum) is, of course,¹⁰⁰ etymologically connected with the name of the river Khabur; the identity with Syriac Ḫabūrā and Arab. Ḫabūr implies a position north of 'Arabān (Tell 'Ajājah).

(7) Uzuḫinum: perhaps *A-zu-[ḫi-nim]^{ki}* ARM II 78 36f.¹⁰¹ — if correctly restored thus — can be compared. The latter is associated with Qattu-nān on the Khabur road and should itself, for geographical reasons, be situated on that river.

(8) Ašīḫum: see above. This seems to be an alternate river crossing.

The distance from Aššur to the Khabur is about 250 km. The six known intervening stations, dividing the stretch into 7 parts, would create daily marches of around 35 km. This is precisely the distance normally covered by a caravan in a day. The route followed should be laid through the vicinity of Ḫaṭra (hardly = Qat(a)ra?) and Sinjār. It either stayed south of these places or they were known at the time under different names.

(b) From the Khabur to Ad/tmum

This sector contains the following stations:

(9) Tarakum (Darkum). Not otherwise known.¹⁰²

(10) Ab/pum occurs in unpublished Mari texts and is placed by Dossin (Syria 20 109) between Ašnakkum (see above II ad II 7) and Talḫat (a town with a still more western position).

(11) Amas is mentioned once in the Mari text ARM II 109 in some remote connection with Eluḫat (see below). Linguistically the name may be related with Amasaki, one of the Mitanni towns.

(12) Naḫur is more amply attested. It seems to serve as a refuge for the queen (II 112; 113) and the Khabur river seems sometimes to make the journey from Mari thereto difficult. The associations are with Tillā (II 62) (see above fn. 41), Ašnakkum (II 62; V 51) (see above II ad II 7), Kaḫat (II 62),¹⁰³ Talḫat and Kirdaḫat (V 51),¹⁰⁴

100. Already J. Lewy, *Orientalia* 21 266.

101. Its king bears the Hurrian name Ḫazib-ulme.

102. It is immediately clear why I cannot agree with Lewy (*Orientalia* 21 274ff.) who identifies Tar(a)kum with Tirqa on the Euphrates.

103. Year "4" of Zimri-Lim (*Studia Mariana* 55).

Kawila (I 107; IV 35),¹⁰⁵ Mardaman (II 63) (see below, No. 14).

In Middle Assyrian times Naḫur is the seat of a *bēl pāḫite* "governor"; it is connected with Šuduḫi (KAJ 109), Amasaki (KAJ 113) and Taida (KAJ 113). All these towns are originally Mitannian. The lists of Adad-nirari I and of Shalmaneser I indicate for Kaḫat as well as for Šuduḫi, Amasaki and Taida a position between the upper Tigris and the line Nusaybin — Mardin. See also AfO 13 118.

(13) Ad/tmum: see above II sub III 11.

This second sector of the "Cappadocian" road covers about 150 km. Supposing that no stations are missing, it would divide into 5 marches of ca. 30 km. each, a very reasonable assumption. The track followed would correspond to the Roman road from the Khabur by way of Tigubis to Carrhae (Ḫarrān);¹⁰⁶ however, there is no station to match Tigubis.

(c) From Ad/tmum to the Euphrates

(14) Mardaman: Lewy's restoration of VAT 9260 (*Orientalia* 21 265 fn. 2) is confirmed by ARM II 63. For occurrences in earlier historical periods see I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* 102; A. Goetze, *JNES* 12 (1953) p. 120. It is located in territory which was Hurrian at least since the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

(15) Eluḫut: Identity with the Eluḫat(tum) of the Mari texts (ARM I 137; II 123) should not be doubted. Eluḫattum has a ruler with the Hurrian name Šukri-Tešub.¹⁰⁷

The Assyrian kings Adad-nirari I and Shalmaneser I mention Eluḫat as the extreme western point of their conquests.¹⁰⁸ Their texts first enumerate the conquered cities of Mesopotamia, beginning with Taida¹⁰⁹ and ending with Irrite;¹¹⁰

Kaḫat is one of the nine Mitannian cities; see above II ad II 7.

104. Probably further toward the northwest.

105. See above under Urgeš.

106. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana "Strecke 112"* col. 778f.; cf. R. Dussaud, *Topographie* (1927) 495f.; F. Schachermeyr, *RE* 29 (1931) col. 1124 sub Nos. 12 and 16.

107. ARM II 109.

108. KAH I 5 obv. 12 with its duplicate KAH I 65 (cf. furthermore AOB 1 p. XXIII); Assur 10557 (AfO 5 89ff.) 41; KAH V 13 and its duplicates (AOB 1 p. XXXII).

109. See above fn. 47.

110. See above fn. 46.

they then contain the phrase *siḫirti Kašiyeri adī Eluḫat*,¹¹¹ and finish by mentioning the fortified districts (*ḫalšu*) of Šuda and of *Ḫarrānum adī (Kargamiš ša) aḫ Puratti* “up to (Kargamish on) the bank of the Euphrates.” The middle phrase, which interests us here, parallels Eluḫat with the territory on the Euphrates opposite Kargamish. These kings, contemporaries of the great Hittite rulers of the Empire, can never have penetrated the territory west of the river, hence Eluḫat must be looked for on the left, i.e., the eastern bank. It should extend from the western end of the Tūr ‘Abdin (the modern name for the Kašiyari mountains) near modern Derek to the Euphrates from about Gerger to Samsat. Position south of the upper Euphrates is also indicated by the other, more general, demarcation used by the Assyrian kings *ištu Lubdi u māt Rāpiqu adī Eluḫat* “from Lubdu¹¹² and the land Rāpiqu¹¹³ to Eluḫat.”¹¹⁴

(16) Abrum: It seems to me dangerous to assume on the strength of a West Semitic etymology (*‘br/ḡbr* “cross a river”)¹¹⁵ that we are here at the crossing of the Euphrates. The place occupied by Abrum on the reconstructed road contradicts the assumption (see ad No. 18).

(17) Ḫaga: No comparative material is known to me.

(18) Zalpa: This should be compared with Zalpaḫ of the new itinerary (see II ad III 6) which is clearly still east of the Euphrates. There is little doubt, then, that Batna which occurs besides Zalpa in BIN VI 265¹¹⁶ is to be identified with Batna(e) (Sarugi), i.e. modern Sürüc between Urfa and Birecik.

(19) Dadania: Otherwise unknown. To judge by the fact that Zalpaḫ, according to the itinerary, is one day’s march from the Euphrates, the river crossing should be reached here.

111. Assur 10557 offers instead ^{a1}*Eluḫat u šad Kašiyeri adī pāt gimri-ša* “E. and the K. mountain in its entirety.”

112. East of the Tigris near Arrapha (Kirkuk).

113. In the Euphrates valley opposite Fallūja.

114. I am sorry that I cannot agree with J. Lewy who (*Orientalis* 21 276, 393ff.) moves Eluḫat into Syria by equating it with Luḫuti, La’aš and Nuḫašše.

115. J. Lewy, *Orientalis* 21 287. Quite apart from this, Lewy’s identification with Thapsacus seems to me out of the question.

116. Another passage is TCL XXI 211 50.

The distance from Ad/tmum to the Euphrates, most likely near Birecik, is not easy to estimate since Admum is not fixed yet with certainty. It would be around 150 km. The six stations would make it six easy marches.

(d) From the Euphrates to Kaniš

In this sector only four intermediate stations are known. They are as follows:

(20) Burudum: It is still within the horizon of the Mari texts where it appears as Burundum.¹¹⁷ According to B 308 (Jean, *Semitica* 1, 1948, 17ff.) the town belonged to a certain Ari-šenni.¹¹⁸ It appears there in the sequence Eluḫut,¹¹⁹ *awil Lullim*, Ḫaḫḫum,¹²⁰ *māt Zalmakim*,¹²¹ Burudum and Talḫayūm;¹²² as far as anything can be said about these places they indicate a position roughly in the region of present-day Gaziantep. Cf. furthermore the additional Mari text D 2 (*ibid.* 23f.).

(21) Šimala: The context in which it appears would fit in well with the suggestion made by Lewy (EL 1 35 fn. b) that Šimala might be identical with Sam’al (Zencirli); nevertheless I record this view with great reserve.

(22) Ḫaḫḫum. If, as is likely, it is identical with Hittite Ḫaḫḫaš, a position north of the main ranges of the Taurus must be assumed. It was at Ḫaḫḫaš that Ḫattušiliš, then governor of the “Upper Land,” battled with the Kaškeans who had penetrated as far as Pattiyarik and defeated them (*Ḫatt.* II 16ff.¹²³). On the other hand it must lie in comparative proximity and accessibility to the Mesopotamian plain. For already Gudea of Lagash could send for the gold of its mountains.¹²⁴ The Ḫattušil passage implies that there must be a road leading from Ḫaḫḫaš into the Melitene, where Pattiyarik must be looked for. The most likely spot which meets these re-

117. This shows — against Bilgiç, AfO 15 29 — that we are dealing after all with a name in *-nd*.

118. The home town of this plainly Hurrian prince remains unfortunately undisclosed.

119. See above sub No. 15.

120. See presently.

121. Not far from Ḫarrān.

122. Nisbah of Talḫat for which compare, for the present, J. Lewy, *Halil Edhem Hâtira Kitabi* (1947) 12f.; *Orientalis* 21 (1952) 425.

123. A. Goetze, *Ḫattušiliš* (MVAeG 1924, 3) p. 16f.

124. The documentation for Ḫaḫḫum has been assembled by Gelb, *AJSL* 55 (1938) 75f.

quirements is the ova of Elbistan.¹²⁵ Closeness to the sea, which has been asserted,¹²⁶ is in no way implied by the passage KUB XXVI 71 (= 2BoTU 30) IV 15¹²⁷ which has been cited in this sense.

The road Maraş — Elbistan leads through the Kussuk pass and is rather difficult.¹²⁸ The main line of communication from Elbistan toward the west leads via Sarız, Pınarbaşı (previously Aziziyah) to Kayseri.¹²⁹

(23) Temelkiya. For this important station between Haḥḥum and Kaniš the Hittite text KBo IV 13, which presents in col. I a list of towns in the Hittite east, is of significance. It was shown elsewhere¹³⁰ that it is arranged geographically and based on itineraries. This is certainly true of ll. 20–35 and is valid also for ll. 36–38;¹³¹ hence it is reasonable to assume that the principle also applies to ll. 39–41. These lines provide us with the sequence Kaniš — Uššuna — Ḫarziuna — Šallapa — Šalatiwar — *Ta-BAL-ga*, the last mentioned no doubt a mere scribal variant of **Ta-malka*, *Tamalki(ya)*.¹³² Of these towns Šallapa is of special interest because it is otherwise known¹³³ as a point on a crossroads, one branch of which ultimately leads to Kargamish, another to Ḫattušaš, and a third to Arzawa. Whichever cross-

125. Landsberger, TTK Belleten 3 (1939) 223 fn. 26 considers identity with τὸ Χαχόν — of problematic location — as not impossible and localizes it at present-day Divriği. Garstang, JNES 1 (1942) 452, likewise operating with τὸ Χαχόν, places Ḫaḥḥaš at Kangal. — For Elbistan and vicinity see now T. and N. Özgüç, Karahöyük Hafriyatı Raporu 1947 3f. 58f.

126. Gelb, l. c. 76. Lewy (Orient. 21 273 with fn. 3) places Ḫaḥḥum in Northern Syria; there is no proof that the fine oil brought from Ḫaḥḥum was made there.

127. “[...] . . . the king took the sea for (his) border. He (read *ná'-aš*) [...] Ḫati[...] [...] he went to Ḫaḥḥaš; but Ḫaḥḥaš fled. [The [...] brought [barley and wine and provided troops.”

128. See Mark Sykes, Dar-ul-Islam (1904) 82ff. (with routier); E. Honigmann, Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches 84ff.

129. See T. and N. Özgüç, Karahöyük Hafriyatı Raporu 1947 58.

130. RHA 1 (1930) 20ff.

131. The road from Pattiyariga to Šamuḥa with a station at Arziya is also encountered KUB XXXI 79 4–20.

132. For interchange between *m* and *b/p* see A. Goetze, Madduwattaš 112; F. Sommer, Aḥḥijavā-Urkunden 244.

133. KUB XIV 15 II 8ff. (A. Goetze, Annalen des Muršiliš 48f.); cf. ZA NF 2 (1925) 307ff. and A. Goetze, Kizzuwatna p. 11 fn. 48.

ing of the Antitaurus is utilized, the road will have to debouch onto the southern piedmont at present-day Maraş.

The warriors of Tamalki(ya) enjoyed certain privileges during the Early Hittite Kingdom. Together with them we find mentioned HC § 54 (cf. also KUB I 16 = 2BoTU 8 II 61f.)^{133a} — besides the Manda and the Šala warriors — those of the towns *Ḫa-at-ra-a*,¹³⁴ *Za-al-pa*,¹³⁵ *Ta-aš-ḫi-ni-ia*¹³⁶ and *Ḫé-mu-wa*¹³⁷ (var. *Ḫi-im-mu-wa*); the similar group enumerated in KUB XIII 2 III 33f.¹³⁸ consists of the warriors of the towns *Ka-ši-ia*,¹³⁹ *Ḫi-im-mu-wa*, *Ta-ga-ra-ma*,¹⁴⁰ and *I-šu-wa*.¹⁴¹ The range of these names includes — as far as can be seen — the Kommagene, Sophene and Melitene.

The Assyrian merchants traveling from the Euphrates to Kaniš could avoid going by way of Haḥḥum — Temelkiya by electing an alternate road via Uršum — Mama.¹⁴² Apparently this involved a different route through the mountains, it may also have involved a different crossing of the Euphrates.

(22a) Uršum: The evidence for Uršum has been fully presented by J.-R. Kupper in RA 43 (1949) 79ff.¹⁴³ The Mari texts indicate a position north

133a. Cf. Lewy, OLZ 1923 542; F. Sommer, Hethiter und Hethitisch (1947) 5ff.

134. KUB VI 45 II 64 attests pertinence of Ḫatra to Išuwa. The road of KBo IV 13 I 42–44 then leads from the Anatolian plateau eastward to the upper Euphrates.

135. This cannot be the Zalpa of KBo IV 13 I 21 which is north of Ḫattušaš, perhaps at Çorum (RHA 1 20 with fn. 13); it may well be identical with the Zalpa treated as No. 18 above.

136. Otherwise unknown.

137. Other occurrences: KUB VII 11 I 4; IX 1 I 20, II 7.

138. The duplicate KUB XIII 25 offers instead of specific names a general expression at the respective point.

139. KBo VI 28 I 10 (north of the “Upper Countries,” parallel with Šamuḥa); KUB XIX 10 I 10; Ḫatt. II 60.

140. The identification with Assyrian Tilgarimmu and modern Görün first proposed by E. Forrer (Provinzeinteilung 75) is very likely.

141. Equal to the Sophene of Greek and Roman times and Urartian Šupani; the land in the bend of the Euphrates around Elaziz.

142. TCL IV 18; see Landsberger ZA NF 1 235f.; Lewy, ZA NF 4 263 fn. 5; Orient. 21 288f.; Bilgiç, AfO 15 24f.

143. Lewy, HUCA 23 (1950/51), insisting (fn. 46) on

of the Euphrates by offering the enumeration Ḫaššum^{144} — Uršum — Kargamiš^{145} — Yamḫat^{146} which in all probability follows a geographical principle and proceeds from east to west. In the texts of Gudea, the Third Dynasty of Ur and the Akkad kings, Uršum is closely associated with Mari, Yarmuti and Ebla. From Boğazköy we possess first of all the story about the siege of Uršu under Ḫattušiliš I(?) ; ¹⁴⁷ it shows that on the Hittite side Ḫaššu^{148} and $\text{Luḫuzzandiya}^{149}$ are not too far off and that on the side of the enemy Kargamish, Ḫalba and the Ḫurrians , furthermore also the towns Ḫuruhḫiḫiḫi , Ašihu^{150} and Zaruwar , ¹⁵¹ maintain contact with the besieged city. This situation is in every respect analogous to that encountered in the Mari texts. It adds to it in so far as it places Uršu close to the fringe of the territory dominated by the Ḫurrians . A localization north of the Euphrates between Samsat and Birecik would also take care of the objections which were raised against the equation $\text{Uršu(m)} = \text{Urfa}$ by S. Smith, *JRAS* 1942 64ff.

The provisions concerning Urušša in the Šunaššura treaty (IV 5ff.) are also pertinent. ¹⁵² They imply that Urušša was situated close to the point where Ḫatti , Kizzuwatna and the Ḫurri land border on one another. The *Kommagene* meets this requirement remarkably well. Also the occurrences in *KUB XXVI 41 rev. 22ff.* ¹⁵³ can well be fitted in. If Išmirik extends from the vicinity of Išuwa to Irrita , the *Kizzuwatnean* territory re-

ferred to should be to the northwest of the Euphrates between its break-through into the plain and Kargamish, i.e., in *Kommagene*. We would have to assume then that Zazlippa , Waššukanna , Arana , Terušša , Uriga and Urušša are places in *Kommagene*. This would mean that Waššukanna , here mentioned several times, is different from the capital of the *Mitanni* kingdom. ¹⁵⁴

The road through Uršum which the Assyrian merchants sometimes used did not touch Ḫaḫḫum . If the latter lay indeed, as assumed above, in the ova of *Elbistan*, the *Taurus* must have been surmounted further toward the east. This points to the route from Gölbaşı to Sürgü , ¹⁵⁵ continuing toward *Derende* and *Görün*. ¹⁵⁶

(23a) *Mama* (*Maba*) is not localizable at present.

(24) *Kaniš*: The identification with *Kültepe* ¹⁵⁷ is nowadays universally accepted.

In this sector of the road, which is more than 200 km long and leads through difficult terrain, more stations must have existed. The new texts excavated by the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* at *Kültepe* can be expected to fill this gap in the near future.

IV

The Date of the Old Babylonian Itinerary

If the text was dated the date was contained not in the colophon but in the mutilated beginning. Unfortunately, it thus becomes a matter of a more or less conjectural restoration.

In the circumstances it may be well to remark that the text itself provides a *terminus post quem* by the inclusion of the station *Dūr-Apil-Sin* (I 13). This fort takes its name from *Apil-Sin*, King of *Babylon* and second predecessor of Ḫammurapi .

The journey from *Larsam* to *Babylon* and *Sippar* seems to cross no frontier; the text presup-

154. As was assumed by me originally (*Kizzuwatna* 48).

155. Through the pass known to us in Byzantine times as *'Aḏarā*, and to the Arabs as *al-Ḫadaḡ*; see E. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* 86f.

156. For the road *Kayseri* — *Malatya* by way of *Görün* and *Derende* see J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 17 (1897) 22ff.; for that from *Elbistan* to *Görün* see T. and N. Özgüç, *Karahöyük Hafriyatı Raporu* 1947 61. Close to the latter road are the Hittite monuments of *Arslantaş* and *Palanga*.

157. P. Jensen, *ZA* 9 (1894) 78f.; E. F. Weidner, *OLZ* 1922 36; *BoSt* 6 (1922) 81ff.; J. Lewy, *OLZ* 1926 946 fn. 1; *ZA NF* 4 (1929) 268.

the old equation *Ursu* etc. = *'Arsüz*, strangely fails to quote this article.

144. Cf. Güterbock, *ZA NF* 10 136; A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 72 with fn. 284. *Bo* 479 has in the meantime been published as *KUB XXXI 64*.

145. Modern *Jerabis* on the Euphrates.

146. The country of which *Ḫalba* (= *Aleppo*) is the capital; see Dossin, *RA* 36 (1939) 46ff.

147. *KBo* I 11 treated by Güterbock, *ZA NF* 10 113ff.

148. See above fn. 144.

149. Cf. A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 72f.; Bilgiç, *AfO* 15 26. Recently also attested as *Lu-sa-an-da* in the new inscription of *Shalmaneser III* published by Fuad Safar (*Sumer* 7 5ff.) IV 26 (Goossens, *Istanbul Congress* 1951; J. Lewy, *Orient.* 21, 1952, 291f.).

150. This must be different from the *Ašihu* on the *Khabur* (above fn. 41).

151. This reading is — with Albright, *BASOR* 78 28 — here adopted because of *Za-ar-wa-ar^{ki}* (near Ḫaššum) in *Mari* texts (see *Syria* 20 109).

152. See translation and treatment in A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* 41ff.

153. *Ibid.* 44ff.

poses a united Southern Mesopotamia. This did not exist before Ḫammurapi's conquest of Larsam in his 30th year.¹⁵⁸ The journey continues through Mankisum and territory which had formed part of Eshnunna, proceeds up the Tigris and passes through Aššur, and finally penetrates Upper Mesopotamia and regions which, to judge by the Mari letters, had been under the control of Zimri-Lim of Mari. In other words the text furthermore presupposes the empire which Ḫammurapi created for himself in his 31st and 32nd years.¹⁵⁹ It may come from any time thereafter which saw this empire intact.

Searching for the exact date in the fragmentary beginning one comes across [. . . .-*h*]a-bu-um at the end of l. 4. I know of only one possible restoration, namely [*mu.ús-sa*¹⁶⁰ *Ia-di-h*]a-bu-um [*ù Mu-ti-ḫu-ur-ša-n*]a; this is the formula of the year Samsu-iluna 28.¹⁶¹ In this connection the fact should be remembered that the date Samsu-iluna 33 testifies to the king's building temples in Sag-gārātum (on the Khabur) in his 32nd year.¹⁶²

If the proposed restoration is accepted — and I cannot see how it could be rejected — the itinerary assumes also historical significance. Samsu-iluna could not have sent an expedition of whatever size to Upper Mesopotamia at a time when “the N. E. corner of the Babylonian kingdom was at the junction of the Diyala and the Tigris” and “all that Hammurabi had won north of the Babylonian border along the Tigris to Nineveh”

158. The event is memorialized in the date formula of his 31st year; see Ungnad, *Datenlisten*, RLA 2 180 No. 133.

159. Mari fell in his 32nd year although the conquest figures in the name of the 33rd year; see Thureau-Dangin, *Symbolae Koeschaker* (1939) 119f.

160. Thus in order to fill the space.

161. Ungnad, *Datenlisten*, RLA 2 184 No. 173.

162. Thureau-Dangin, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions* 43/2 (1942) 250.

was lost.¹⁶³ The new itinerary shows no trace of Kassite power in the Tigris valley from Mankisum to Nineveh, in fact it shows that at the time when it was written there were no Kassites anywhere along the river. The Kassites had not yet entered the arena except for some border clashes in which they were defeated.¹⁶⁴

In the sense of the Babylonian chronographers 1738 B.C. was the first year of the Kassites (if their 576 years are to be counted from 1162 B.C., a figure which may be slightly off). Those who adhere to the chronology of Sidersky — Thureau-Dangin and let Ḫammurapi reign 1848–1806, and consequently Samsu-iluna 1805–1768, reach with the latter king's 28th year 1778 B.C. They are not astonished to encounter no Kassites at that time. Those, however, who advocate shorter chronologies will run into difficulties.¹⁶⁵ This fact I can consider only as an additional reason to reject those chronologies.

The question may be asked why the extraordinary campaign attested by the itinerary is not reflected in the year names of Samsu-iluna and why the year name “Yadiḫabum and Muti-ḫuršana” was continued for three years. An answer to this question would be possible only were we informed about the significance of that name. Perhaps the campaign recorded in the itinerary has itself to do with the events from which it was taken. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about them.

163. S. Smith, *Compte Rendu de la Seconde Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (1951) 69.

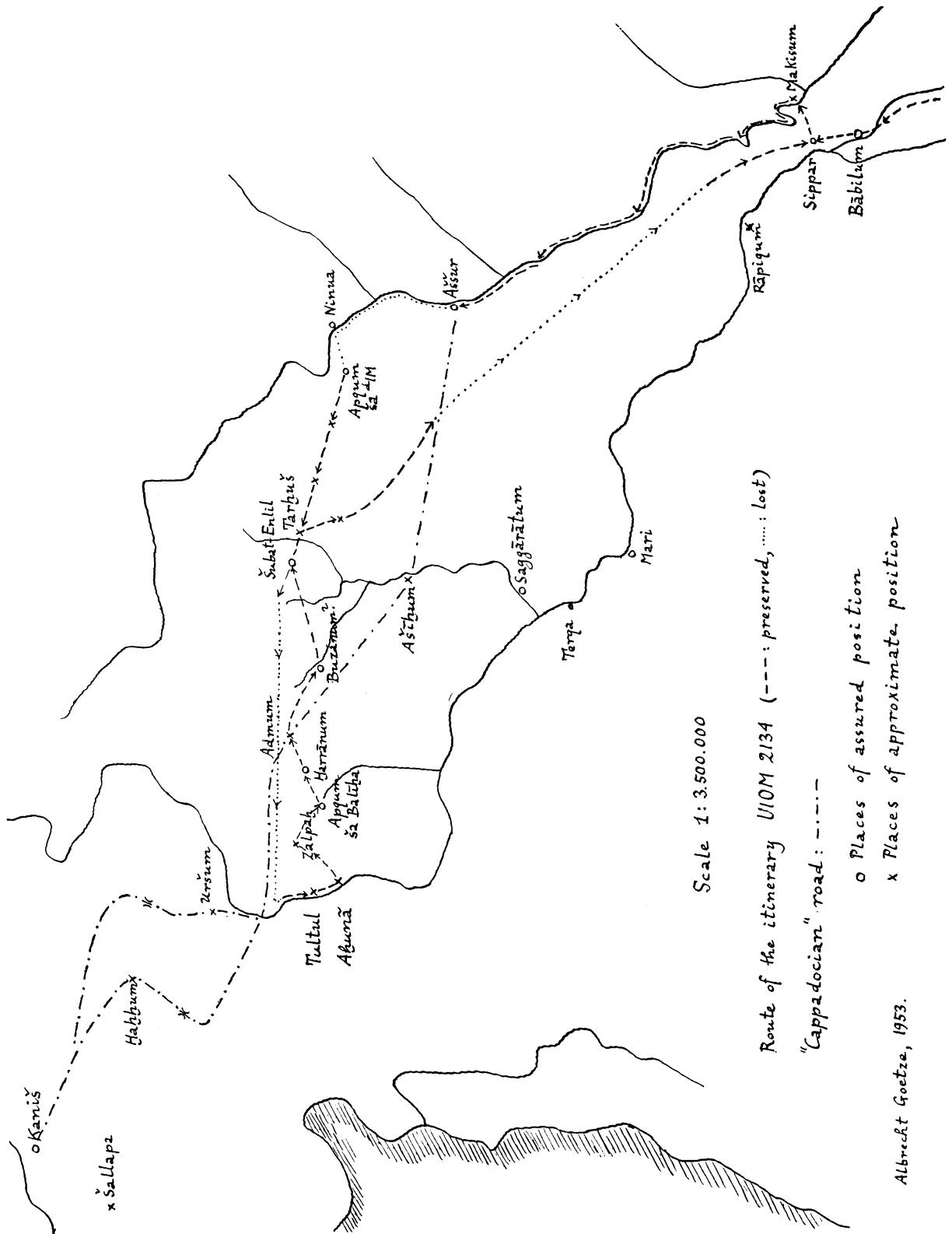
164. Samsu-iluna 9 and Abi-ešuḫ “d” (cf. *JCS* 5, 1951, 99).

165. In S. Smith's chronology Samsu-iluna 28 is 1722 B.C., in that of Albright 1658 B.C. S. Smith admits the difficulty inherent in cutting down the time allotted to the Kassites by the Babylonian kinglist; Albright boldly slashes it by as much as 120 years.

[Supplementary note: Mr. André Finet kindly furnished me with some valuable notes on the itinerary, of which I communicate here, with his permission, the more significant ones. Mr. Finet will publish in the near future the “Repertoire d'ARM I-V” which he composed jointly with J. Bottéro. The “Repertoire” will, among other things, assemble all the geographical names in the five first Mari volumes.

III 3: Yapturum occurs in Mari in the letter “B 81” = Jean, RA 42 p. 71 No. 10. The representative of Zimri-Lim at Zalluḫan reports there that his *šābū* in four fortified districts had to leave, some for Yapturum and some for Zalmakum, because the harvest had failed.

III 2: The spelling KIB.*nun-na*, instead of UD.KIB.*nun-na*, for the name of the river *Purattum* “Euphrates” is also found ARM I 62 17; cf. G. Dossin, *Corr. de Šamši-Addu* p. 223].



Scale 1: 3.500.000

Route of the itinerary U10M 2134 (—: preserved,: lost)

"Cappadocian" road: - - - -

o Places of assured position

x Places of approximate position

Albrecht Goetze, 1953.